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hundred thousand. It is probable that it fluctuated between these two extremes, being reduced considerably at times of severe drought and famine—Garcia (14, p. 125) cites an historical instance—and being recuperated gradually to its maximum during the intervening times of plenty.

Traditional Evidence of Settlement

No evidence was found among natives living today of any knowledge of immigration into the group by their ancestors, nor of occasional arrivals of small groups of individuals. The route by which the first settlers probably came, as indicated by traditions, is shown on the map (fig. 1), together with the contrary direction of the ocean currents and prevailing winds.

No direct evidence of any knowledge of the coming of their ancestors to the islands is to be found among the natives living today. According to Porter, however, there was a tradition of a god named Haii, who is said to have arrived at Ha'a Tuatua Bay on the east coast of Nuku Hiva, bringing chickens and pigs. The people did not know whether this person came in a ship or a canoe, nor could they tell how long he remained among them. The time of his arrival was said to have been more than twenty generations prior to Porter's visit. Estimating on the basis of twenty-five years to a generation, this reckoning would indicate that Haii, if he were a real, and not merely a legendary character, visited Nuku Hiva something over five hundred years prior to Porter's visit in 1813. The same writer was told also that the coconut was, according to legend, brought by a god named Tao, who came from an island named Utupu (Ootoopoo), which was supposed to lie somewhere to the windward of Fatu Hiva (La Magdalena) (24, pp. 91-2). [1]Porter was apparently not told how many generations ago this was supposed to have been. This is the only direct evidence I have that indicates any conception on the part of the natives of the arrival in their islands of immigrants or visitors from the outside world prior to European contact.

There is, however, indirect evidence, that proves the ancient Marquesas islanders to have had a knowledge of other islands and regions in Polynesia. The Nuku Hiva story in which Pepeiu's voyage is recounted indicates a knowledge of the existence and location of Rimatara, Tubuai,

[1] It is my belief that this story is due to mistranslation of a simple reply. If one pointed to a coconut tree, or a coconut, and asked a native whence it came, he would reply, "*U tupu no i ao*," it grew (or grows) from below. Porter's island "Ootoopoo" may, therefore, merely mean "it grew"; and the god Tao may even be a misspelling of *i ao*.

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and Rarotonga. Again, the story from Hiva Oa of going to Rarotonga for feathers indicates a definite knowledge of that island and of several others, the locations of which the natives apparently anciently knew but which cannot now be identified with the present state of knowledge regarding the ancient names of islands in the eastern Pacific. The occurrence in certain sacred chants of the names Tona Tapu (Tonga-tabu), Vevau (Vavau), Fiti Nui (Fiji-Nui), Havai'i (Hawai'i, Savai'i), Upo'u (Upolu), Po'apo'a (Borabora), and others, as names of *fenua* or lands to the westward (toward Havai'i) indicates a memory, at least, of some geographic region where these were familiar names. Whether these were original for the natives of the Marquesas in the regions in which they were the native names of the islands at the time of discovery or whether their origins must be sought much further back toward Asia, only future investigation can prove conclusively. That names of lands were transplanted in the Pacific is proved in Central Polynesia. Vavau for the Tongan was the largest of the northern islands of this group; for the Tahitian, it was the ancient name of Borabora; for the natives of the Marquesas, it was the great valley on Hiva Oa now called Atu Ona. Fiji to the Tongan was Fiji Nui, "the great land to the west;" Hiti Nui was the ancient name of Tahiti; Fiti Nui to the Marquesan was a region on the western end of Hiva Oa. I have been assured by trustworthy informants that in ancient times Marquesas islanders used to go to Tona Tapu. There is a story from Hiva Oa which relates the voyage of a chief to Tefiti. This may well be the Hiva Oa dialetical variant of Tahiti; but it is to be noted that in the story it is definitely said that this land was toward the rising sun. The distribution of these land names just discussed proves one thing: that the people who used these names extended their possession right across central Polynesia from Tonga and Samoa, through the Society group, to the Marquesas.

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No evidence has come to light which would indicate that Marquesas islanders had ever seen white men before the arrival of the historic explorers. In Hiva Oa it is said that Tane and Atea were, respectively, older and younger brothers. Tane was fair with light hair and is said to have been the ancestor of the white race (the Hao'e); Atea was dark like the natives, who are his descendants. This conception of Tane as a fair god I believe to be genuinely native, since it is in line with many similar mythological concepts of deities with fair hair and fair skins in other groups of Polynesia. Whether or not this indicates contact with individuals or groups of the white race prior to the historic discovery of the Marquesas, one cannot say. The beginning of the period when

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● 173 Spanish or Portuguese adventurers might have arrived at the group was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, these concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia or in Asia itself, when some of the ancestors of the Polynesians were in concepts in Polynesian mythology may have had their origin in Indonesia ber of early voyagers say that white men who first came to the group were supposed to be gods *(etua)*. Whether this was due to association of the white men with such mythological teachings as are mentioned above, or merely to the fact of the size of their ships, the splendor of their uniforms, and particularly to the sight and sound and effect of their firearms, one cannot tell for certain. All that one may say with assurance is that the Marquesas islands, like the rest of the Polynesians, must, at some time prior to the first recorded visits of Europeans, have known of the existence of a white race, but that there is no evidence of their remembering having seen white men prior to the historical arrival of the earliest European visitors, the Spaniards, under the command of Quiros in 1595. The presence of Caucasian blood in the native physical complex, which is indicated by the descriptions of the early voyagers, and which was brought out also by the anthropological investigations of our expedition, must be borne in mind in connection with these considerations. All of the early voyagers were struck by the lightness of skin of the natives. Quiros (pp. 17, 22, 28) in particular speaks of light skins and refers once to red hair. This fairness of skin was undoubtedly due to some extent to the practice of bleaching; but the custom itself indicates an admiration for light complexion. This admiration is exhibited in many legends, as in that of Tuapu in which the color of the skin of the hero is likened to that of the meat of a coconut. Some credence is certainly due also to the statements of natives of the present day, with many of whom I have discussed this subject. All insist that in ancient times, before the arrival of any Europeans, there were many of their people with very light skin and reddish hair.

Quiros gives a very interesting bit of evidence indicating that the inhabitants of Hiva Oa had a knowledge of some darker complexioned people living in regions to the southward of their island. One concludes that these must have been natives of Tuamotu, some of whom, as a result of their life in the sun, wind, and sea, are very dark. To quote Quiros (25, p. 152):

> The natives of this island, on seeing a negro of ours, made signs toward the S., to say that in that direction there were men like him, and that they went there to fight, and that the others had arrows, and that these went in large canoes, which they possess.

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The most trustworthy evidence as to the immigration of the original natives of the Marquesas comes from genealogies and legends. Some analysis and discussion of the genealogies will be necessary before conclusions can be stated.

Evidence of Genealogies

Every genealogy that I possess has in it, doubtless, numerous errors. No native today can recite his genealogy for many generations back. It is only these few that have been laboriously written down in old account books or on sheets of paper that can be obtained now, and in the writing of these by natives many errors have crept in. For instance, one was given me to copy in which all the names of men and of women were transposed in one section of the genealogy without anything to indicate the change. Frequently, too, a list of the children of some man and woman in the direct line is included in a single column, instead of being put into a side column, the children thus appearing as consecutive generations in the direct line. It is evident from the most trustworthy of my records that even in the ancient days one would have found considerable variations. For instance, in the early sections where conformity would be expected, there is wide variation, omission, different names, transposition of superior and inferior, and even of male and female. In other words it seems almost certain that, even in ancient times, the genealogists would not have been found to correspond accurately in detail, but rather to approximate each other. The division of the people into tribes, their separation and isolation, and the transmission of records by word of mouth from *tuhuna* to *tuhuna* must necessarily have given occasion for much error.

It does seem, however, that the genealogies may be utilized safely in making approximations of time elapsed. They may be said to furnish trustworthy suggestions at least. In the following tables certain notable names have been selected from the most trustworthy of the genealogies at hand: the numbers of generations following them, down to the last name written, have been recorded and these records have been converted into years, and averages made. Explanatory notes follow the tables.

With regard to Genealogy IV in Table I in which the number of generations is so much less than in the others, it should be remarked that this is the only one of the four of which I have no way of knowing whether or not it is complete down to the recent times. It was recorded by Père Pierre. For a number of reasons I am inclined to think that it is not complete in its latter portion. I should, therefore, be inclined to regard the average figures arrived at by using this genealogy in combination with

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173 the other three as a more accurate minimum than that given by Genealogy IV alone. The figures are self explanatory. In converting the generations into years, twenty-five years has been chosen as the probable average per generation.

TABLE 1.—MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

	GENEALOGIES				AVERAGES		EXTREMES			
							MAXIMUM		MINIMUM	
	I	II	III	IV	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.	GEN.	YRS.
Atea and Atanua	90	67	74	46	69	1665	90	2250	46	1150
Ancient lands (Vevau, Fiti, etc.)	82	61	65	39	62	1550	82	2050	39	975
Tiki	69	54	45	32	50	1250	69	1725	32	800
Tana-oa	65	51	41	23	45	1125	65	1625	23	575

Atea and Atanua were traditionally the progenitors of the race. After Atea and Atanua always come names corresponding to those in use elsewhere anciently and in modern times—names which to the Marquesas islanders were at the same time names of ancient, distant lands and ancient names of local regions. Is there justification for concluding the Marquesas islanders were living in lands called by these names perhaps as long ago as two thousand years? No more than for concluding that these names are those of actual human beings. I take the occurrence of these names to mean, not that the ancestors of the natives of the Marquesas were living in Vavau, Tonga, Fiji, or Savai'i at that ancient date, but that the region throughout which these names occur—Central Polynesia—was the route by which the natives, who arrived at the Marquesas in about the tenth century, came; and that these were revered names of some kind in still more distant and ancient lands to the northwestward.

Tiki and Tana-oa are deities and legendary heroes, undoubtedly purely mythical, so far as the Marquesans are concerned. There is no reason to suppose that any persons known by that name ever actually lived in the Marquesas.

In Table II is tabulated the antiquity in generations of certain characters, famous in legend, whose names are today the names of tribes or larger divisions of the country. The dates were arrived at by using 1875 as the approximate date of the last generation recorded.

TABLE II.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS

	BASED ON FIVE GENEALOGIES							
	GENEALOGIES					AVERAGE	YEARS	APPROX. DATE
	I	II	IV	V	VI			
Nuku	35	39	18	—	—	31	775	1100 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	13	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	14	—	—	29	725	1150 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	—	—	27	31	775	1100 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	8	21	—	17	425	1450 A.D.

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Nuku was, traditionally, one of two brothers who were the first settlers on Hiva Oa. As the name of the settler of the western half of Hiva Oa, Nuku became the name of the whole of that part of the island, or of the people living there in the dual division which is described below. Tiu is said to have been born in the valley of Taha Uku and to have settled in Ta'a Oa—the inclusive name for all the people in the great valley of Ta'a Oa is Tiu. Mo'ota was the name of one of several brothers of Tiu, who went to settle on Fatu Hiva and today is the name of a tribe on that island. There is everything in the legend of Tiu to make one feel justified in regarding it as certainly of local origin, and as a trustworthy piece of traditional history. Mohuta is the name of the tribe which inhabited the valley of Hana Uaua on the south coast of Hiva Oa. Taupo is the name of one of the subtribal divisions in the great valley of Vevau (Atu Ona). As was said above it is not certain that Genealogy IV is complete to recent times. The fact that the figures based on it are so much lower than those based on the others, which I am sure are complete, leads me to think that it is not. I feel justified, therefore, in regarding the averages arrived at by including Genealogy IV as a safe minimum. By using only Genealogies I and II, the two most trustworthy I have—both from Atu Ona—a safe maximum may be obtained.

TABEL III.—ANTIQUITY OF LEGENDARY CHARACTERS

BASED ON THE TWO MOST TRUSTWORTHY GENEALOGIES

	GENEALOGIES		AVERAGE	YEARS	DATE
	I	II			
Nuku	35	39	37	925	950 A.D.
Tiu	31	42	37	925	950 A.D.
Mo'ota	32	41	37	925	950 A.D.
Mohuta	28	38	33	825	1050 A.D.
Taupo	14	24	38	950	925 A.D.

Judging from the genealogies, it would seem that one is justified in arriving at the following conclusions, based on the figures given in Tables II and III:

Nuku, a first settler on Hiva Oa, came between 950 and 1100 A.D., perhaps somewhat earlier, certainly not later than 1100; Tiu, a brother of Mo'ota, settled in Ta'a Oa between 950 and 1150 A.D., and founded the tribe inhabiting that valley; Mo'ota was born in Taha Uku, Hiva Oa, between 950 and 1150 A.D., and went to settle in the island of Fatu Hiva, where he founded a tribe; Mohuta founded a tribe in Hiva Oa in about 100 A.D.

The founder of the subtribe of the Na-iki in Vevau (Atu Ona)) called Taupo, was born sometime between 1175 and 1450 A.D. The evi-

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173 dence, which indicates that the small valleys on the northwest coast of Hiva Oa were colonized by the Taupo tribe, this region being called Taupo Tua, or Back Taupo, is given below in the discussion of tribal relations on Hiva Oa. The expansion, which led to this colonization, certainly could not have come about for some centuries, even granting that Taupo may have had a number of followers when he founded his tribe. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the colonization of the northwest coast was, at the earliest, not before the latest date arrived at for Taupo, 1450 A.D. The northwest coast of Hiva Oa was, then, colonized certainly not before the fifteenth century.

On the basis of the evidence from genealogy and tradition presented above, which I consider trustworthy for approximations, it appears that Hiva Oa must have been settled in about the tenth century; that from that century to the twelfth was what we may call the early period of settlement in the islands of the southern group; and that from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was a period of later expansion. Conclusions based on evidence from these sources and arrived at by this method will be on a sure basis if more genealogies and more traditional evidence can be obtained. It is hoped that future work will make this possible.

First Inhabitants and Places of Settlement

174 According to Père Pierre (4), the natives believed that the names of the first inhabitants of the six main islands were as follows: of Nuku Hiva, Mohuta; of Hiva Oa, Tapu–oko; of Tahu Ata, Toheto; of Fatu Hiva, Mihi-toka; of Ua Huka, Koki-oho; of Ua Pou, Pa-hohe. The name Mohuta is the only one of these which occurs in the genealogies in my possession.

There is good reason to believe that early colonists to the Marquesas would have chosen Hiva Oa in preference to Nuku Hiva for settlement, since it is less rugged and much more inviting. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that they would have chosen as the most desirable location in which to dwell the region made up of what is now Atu Ona with the neighboring and easily accessible valleys of Te Hutu, Ta'a Oa and Taha Uku. This is obvious to one acquainted with the island, since this section presents by far the most expansive and most favored region for human existence. However, that this become a center of cultural development may have been due not to the choice of original settlers, but to the fact that after settlement was general it was the most favorable place for the development of a large population, and hence that its people gradually attained a dominant position politically and culturally. The naming of Atu Ona, Vevau, the claims of its inhabitants and other evidence,

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upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito,* or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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most of these are generic terms and not merely names of single songs or chants, since Dordillon translates them usually as "kinds of chants."

The list is as follows:

Avaavaua, hakaoho, hariki, hehevaihi, hetau, hinatu, hioo, hiperue, ihituki, katumu, kihiouoho, kioe, mahau or mahau'u, mahitete or mahiatete, mahomaho, make-make, maku or ma'u, mauaheretie, nuhe, ori, otu, pikitahi, pona'u, pa'o'e, papakitahi, papo, puhe kava, parirau, paro, patipati, patupatu, pehete, pipiko, potu, puatahii toua, punaiana, putuaka, puko, hono, pututahi, ririraurau, taatita, taho, tahotahoki, tahoki, tabotahoko, tiritauteva, titiei, tuihope, tukihoe.

GENEALOGIES

All the genealogies that are available today are written. I believe no living native knows by heart more than a small number of the later names of his genealogy. In this report only one selected genealogy is given—one that appears to be the best and most trustworthy of those obtained. Others will be published subsequently, after they have been more carefully studied, and compared with others that it is hoped will be forthcoming. In the example given here, it will be seen that Atea and Atanua appear some distance down in the list. Genealogies usually start with these names, these two being regarded as, respectively, progenitor and progenitress of the native people. Modern natives, in explaining the matter, say that Atea and Atanua are like Adam and Eve. That statement is not correct, however, for Atea and Atanua were distinctly deities rather than human beings, and there is nothing to indicate that they are conceived of as having ever inhabited the islands as beings in human form. The genealogy given may be divided into sections as follows: (1) concepts of creation (Nos. 1-53, (2) personified concepts or deities (?) (Nos. 54-60), (3) ancient lands (Nos. 61-63), (4) gods (Nos. 64-108), (5) men (Nos. 109-144). Nos. 75-115 represent a period of legendary heroes and gods.

CHANTING OF GENEALOGIES

The most important use of genealogies was in some of the family rites. At marriage festivals and at funerary festivals the genealogy was chanted from the beginning. Family genealogies, either in part or from beginning to end, were chanted in the rites of adoption and in connection with the ceremonial chanting of the *vavana* and *pu'e* by family groups. At certain other rites, such as that which initiated the first-born into his

[10] Examples of most of the chants described above were obtained in the native dialect, and the melodies of a few were recorded. The following are subsequently to be published: native texts with translation and melody—*pu'e, uhabi, nato, pope, rori, ru'u, tape'a, pipina, putu,* and *pehi;* native texts with translation—*tona-pou, oho-au no Motuhaiki, vavana, ti'e mato, faufau-ua, aumeha, hakaoho, menava tupapa'u, puno tohu, vai hakae, tupapa'u, tai, ha'anu, fiuku, uta, haihai haana, puko toua, pa'e vii toua, kouaka, viti, pu'u keha, mauta'a, ta'a, ue, koutapa, vaka-ho, u'i, hapa.*

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first festival (*ko'ina hakahe'e*), only the lower or later sections of the genealogy were chanted. When an individual, or when a group, approached a house or a feast place, coming ceremoniously, the genealogy was always chanted, constituting an announcement of the birthright of the arrival or arrivals. In the story of Pohu a women is described as accompanying a war canoe to chant the genealogy of the people.

The chanting (*hahi*), whatever the occasion, was always done by women. At formal festivals two old women skilled in the art were chosen—these two stood up together and recited alternately, one the men's names, the other the women's. This chanting was called *hahi*. To chant one's genealogy as one approached a dwelling was called *ta'a'au te hahi* and simple recitation of genealogy *mata tetau*. Genealogies were called *mata*.

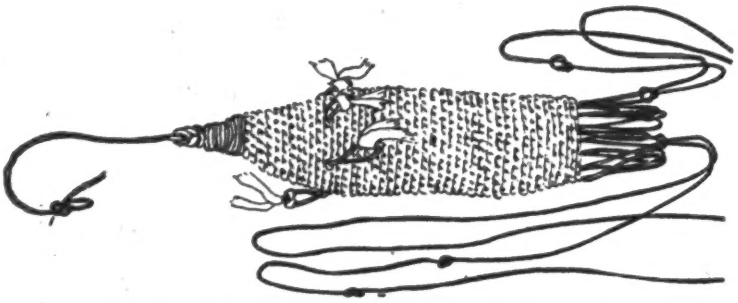

FIGURE 30—Mnemonic device used in learning genealogies.

It was the business of the *tuhuna o'ono* to know and to teach the genealogies of his tribe. As an aid to memory the natives used *ta'o mata*, memonic devices of woven coconut fiber, from which hung cords with knots tied in them (fig. 30).

An example of a genealogy follows:

GENEALOGY OF TAUAHOKAANI OF ATU ONA, HIVA OA

MALE	FEMALE
Animotua (Sky-Father)	Nohoana (Resting)
Toonui (Great Root-stock)	Tooiti (Little Rootstock)
Tooa (Long Root-stock)	Toopoto (Short Rootstock)
Toopiko (Bent Root-stock)	Toofana (Crooked Rootstock)
Toope (Bad Root-stock)	Tooka'u (Vile Rootstock)
Toohuhu	Tooane
Toomutu (Silent Rootstock)	Toomoha (Hoarse Rootstock)
Akanui (Great Root)	Akaiti (Little Root)
Akape (Bad Root)	Akaka'u (Vile Root)

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MALE	FEMALE
Akaoa (Long Root)	Akapoto (Short Root)
Akahuhu	Akaane
Tetinitiniotetoo (The Myridas of Roots)	Temanomanootetoo (The Countless Number of Roots)
Teafeafeotetoo (The Great Length of the Roots)	Tepiimaiotetoo (The Upward Climbing of the Roots)
Tetoopuutia	Tetookokeani (The Useless Root)
Aitetomataetekoie	Tetuhiotokuietekoie
Aiteotikoe memaoane	Titootetoo te Akateaka ihato
Ouia	Toikia
Tepukupuku (The Swelling)	Tetonatona (The Very Agreeable)
Teuhitua (The Back Covering)	Teuhiao (The Front-covering)
Mani	Hapeu
Tehakahua (The Beginning, the Turning-about)	Tehakafenua (The Land-making)
Teninuninu	Kekeeinau
Tetake (The Foundation)	Ahitake (The Fire-Bottom)
Enata iuna	Makaio
Tetake	Haanaenuu
Enata iuna	Hakahotu
Titake	Huoi
Tetie	Tekomanu
Tekomanu	Tepaona
Temu	Hia
Tehau	Moeioto
	Moeivaho
	Anaekea
	Anapiimai
Piimaimeitahi	Papaioona
Tepapau	Tepapahau
Tepapahuia ete tau vave	Tepapakeeaki
Tepapatieikua	Tekuamoehau
Fifiti	Takina
Mapii	Tuatuaea
Tuiuta	Heiei
Tuitetohoa	Ito
Tupuhauhau	Hakaoa
Tuitai	Tepaekuaotane
Haamauaito	Ito
Tetaipupuna (The Sea-sweet-like-sugar-cane)	Tetaifeiai (The Sea-sweet-like-*fei'ai*)
Teakuhua	Teakupapa
Tefanafanatea	Tepapaiuna
Uakekeu	Tepapaiao
Tohaki	Hinatumaomao
(Tetaki)	
Fetoki	Hiuahakatohuaani
Tepapauna (The Level Above)	Tepapaao (The Level Beneath)
Vatea (Clear Space)	Atanua
Tepo (The Night)	Mahito
Kuupenu	Teme'ama (The Moon)
Teata (The Reflection)	Nanaii
Teao (The Breath)	Animea
Tenuhi	Uutau

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MALE	FEMALE
Voke	Hanivaa
Vevau [a land]	Havaii [a land]
Fiti [a land]	Tonatapu [a land]
Fititapu [a land]	Tehau [a land]
Teua (The Rain)	Tetai (The Sea)
Tepai (The Wetness)	Kaukau (The Washing)
Paiainu (The Drinking Wetness)	Uavai (Water hole)
Tepu (The Conch Shell)	Koata (Venus Shell)
Tefaa (The Pandanus)	Hoohena (Strong Running)
Tetiu (The North Wind)	Temetani (The Wind)
Tefatu I (The Master, The Rock)	Toupii
Tefatu II	Teea
Tefatu III	Teoi
Tefatu IV	Hukia
Tefatu V	Hinataumiha
Tiki [legendary character]	Kahuone (Pile of Sand)
Tikitapu	Hinaua
Aneane	Tumukee
U	Aniani
Tanaoa [legendary character, a god]	Mutuei
Kootumu	Fatuaho
Tehito	Maanau
Hoi	Uehine
Hoitupu	Hoihoe
Hoikua	Hoimea
Hoimapekau	Na Hoiamua etanaoa
Tepua	Papaheani
Iakau	Teuaheetoitoi
Koopana	Ouhutukatokato
Havini	Matativo
Hoitanaoa	Teatuotu
Hoiavaiki	Nukuepa
Matauapupa	Toitata
Punauunui	Meheua
Punahohonu	Ahuoho
Punafaakua	Tumuii
Punavetea	Fitiei
Punavete	Akamei
Punatea	Tapuainui
Punatefae	Tepuhimeoto
Tupahee	Naonao
Tupavaka	Huihena
Tupahaataniitepu	Paanuimea
Tupatanitetee	Hotie
Temaituitu	Temaitutee
Maituataanaifenua	
Punatope	Oata
Punatutu	Haiko.
Tupaoaiafai	Puhumomo
Naku [legendary character, a first settler]	Uiaei
Hotu	Moiakau
Oko [legendary character]	Inuvaa.

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MALE	FEMALE
Moota [legendary character, a tribal name]	Niniano [Legendary character]
Tiu [legendary character, a tribe]	Mofitu
Fekei	Maoninua
Tuoa	Hotaei
Mohuta [A tribal name on Hiva Oa]	Vaiatanuu
Meae	Atua
Kahumano	Tanihua
Ahunia	Tiufaa
Tatini	Teepana
Toumata	Tehueo
Nohea	Kaukau
Timoka	Tapuahu
Tuakina	Papeoho
Tepiu	Piinoa
Tinfeaa	Tuhiua
Motootoofenua	Puutini
Teaninuinei	Tiutaha
Kouaehitini	Takeoho
Taupo [A subtribe in Vevau]	Teheva
Tepaapaa	Maotai
Kopaaninatea	Hivapu
Fatukua	Titopu
Kuaiteoho [A subtribe in Vevau]	Honuani
Puatautau	Honutoia
Fatukua	Naeaefitu
Hamihiao	Tiamate
Ututete	Tipeeipuoho
Tekohuotaupo	Natapuotiu
Feuapoenui	Piuiatohetika
Piuhefiua	Tuhitaiuta
Vahitete	Temeiu
Tohuputona	Tauahokaani
Ioane [Now living]	Emere [died 1921]

GENEALOGY OF NATURE

The descent of various growing things, and other elements of nature, from Atea is shown in the following list. As is shown here, each stone, plant or animal, had its particular mother, and was fathered by Atea (Vatea).

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Te'a (Rock)
	Heteuatoto	Te'etu (Red tufa)
	Huumania	Tiva (Beach boulder)
	Uuhoa	Ehi (Coconut)
	Momea	Mei (Breadfruit)
	Pihaei	Ihi (Chestnut)
	Paemo	Fau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*)
	Uamamaenoa	Tohe (Bamboo)
	Maetoitoi	Tuaivi (Mountain)

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FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Matapuhipuhi	Metie (Grass)
	Tuotuoo	Kakaho (Reed)
	Tiitiinehu	Tahuna (The seabeach)
	Hopu	Heepo (*Epo:* Soil?)
	Tiipahauoo	Ama (Candlenut)
	Henua	Huatei (?)
	Hinatetepu	Pua (*Carissa grandis*)
		Tiae (*Gardenia tahitiensis*)
	Hinaooifatu	Hefaa (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)
	Veavea	Tatiu (Cucumis)
	Tohiue	Faahoa (Pineapple)
	Tetuhitetano	Mae
	Uinae	Moho (an unidentified plant)
	Teputuohei	Tava
	Tiimaa	Puaa (Pig)
		Vahane (*Corypha umbraculifera*)
		Tamanu (*Calophyllum inophyllum*)
		Tavaiti
		Enetae
		Hutu (*Barringtonia speciosa*)
		Eva (*Cerebra manghas*)
		Topini (*o kopiti*, a kind of tree)
		Tokuu (Indian lilac)
		Toa (*Casuarina equisetifolia*)

GENEALOGY OF MOONS

This list shows the descent of the moons (months) from Atea, by different mothers.

FATHER	MOTHERS	CHILDREN
Vatea	Upuoo	Takuua (August)
		Mahina (September)
		Avea (October)
		Oaoumanu (November)
	Pukeoo (a star)	Ehua (December)
		Ve'o (January)
		Uaoa (February)
		Mehau (March)
	Tekuteku	Pohe (April)
		Makaiki (May)
		Napea (June)
		Tuhuamatakeo (July)

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

MANNER OF TEACHING LEGENDS

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The following account of the manner of teaching legends was obtained at Atuona, on the island of Hivaoa. When a father desired to have his son or daughter taught legends (*ha'akekai*) and recitation of genealogy (*mata tetau*) he built in the neighborhood of his own dwelling a large special house (*oho au*) for the purpose, and employed a bard (*tuhuna o'ono*) to instruct the pupils. In this house as many as thirty men and women ranking from twenty to forty years in age would come to participate in the instruction with the lad or girl for whom the *oho au* had been built. All lived at the *oho au* and were instructed in the bard's lore (*tekao tuhuna*). During periods of instruction, the pupils were tapu, being consecrated to the work, and sexual intercourse was prohibited. The infringement of this tapu during instruction was supposed to cause blindness. As youths and maids could not be expected to keep the tapu on sexual intercourse, it was only those whose years exceeded twenty who attended the instructions in the *oho au*.

Periods of consecrated instruction lasted generally one moon; but the *tuhuna*, who decided upon the length of the period upon his own discretion or following the desire of his employer, might shorten the duration.

Recesses between the tapu periods lasted for fifteen days. Though at these times pupils continued to live at the *oho au*, they were free to go and come as they pleased. But all the articles associated with their persons during the time of instruction remained tapu and must not be allowed to come in contact with outsiders. After being released at the beginning of the recess, every individual was obliged to bathe in the sea.

During the consecrated instruction there were two sessions each day, one in the morning and one at night. The *tuhuna* was the master in the *oho au* and had to be obeyed. A woman whose monthly period came on at this time had to absent herself until her recovery. If she concealed her condition, the *tuhuna* always detected it by his skill. He was sometimes angered by such concealment to the extent of stopping the whole process of instruction and refusing to continue his work, leaving the *oho au* and going home. Or he might merely send the woman home.

If a pupil for whom the *oho au* had been built proved to be too stupid or inattentive to learn what was being taught, the *tuhuna* would stop his work and go home. The term *koai* was applied to those who were not sufficiently tapu to be capable of receiving instruction.

After the labor of instruction was completed, the *oho au* was destroyed.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live.

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England.

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oatoia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah.

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

/38 cont./

Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred. 832

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is characteristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words. 883 834 883 522 198 834

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked in pig latin. [973]

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 55
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [797]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious